Psychology report

Name: MINASSIAN, Alek DOB November 3, 1992
Health Dr. P. Wright Date March 20, 2020
Psychologist

Referral

Alek Minassian is now a 27 year old male who stands charged with 10 counts of Murder and 16 counts of Attempted Murder. These offences stemmed from a highly publicized attack using a rented van on a crowded area of Yonge Street in Toronto. A portion of Mr. Minassian's statement to police was available to the media whereby Mr. Minassian indicated that his motivation was in part driven by incel ideology. Mr. Minassian had previously been assessed at St. Joseph's (Hamilton). The Crown attorneys involved in Mr. Minassian's case retained Dr. Woodside to complete a second Section 16 assessment. Dr. Woodside in turn retained me to complete an assessment from a psychology perspective.

Mr. Minassian was cautioned as to the non-confidential nature of the evaluation and was well aware that the information obtained was going to be presented in court. He appeared eager to participate in the assessment process and requested feedback after the assessment was completed.

Sources

1. Clinical Interviews (4), Consultation with Dr. Woodside
2. Socio-Sexual Knowledge and Attitudes Tool-Revised (SSKAAT-R) intimacy and healthy boundaries subtests
3. Delis Kaplan Executive Function System (DKEFS) Proverbs, 20 Questions, Sorting and Colour Word subtests
4. Shipley-2
5. Anger Disorders Scale (ADS)
6. Personality Assessment Inventory (PAI)
7. Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory-2
8. Structured Inventory of Malingered Symptoms (SIMS)
9. Witness statements
10. Toronto South Detention Centre (TSDC) documents
11. St. Joseph's documentation
12. Information gleaned from Mr. Minassian's computer
13. Early educational records
14. Early medical records
15. CVs of experts involved in assessing Mr. Minassian

16. Elliott Rodger's Manifesto
17. Other materials provided by the crown's office noted below
18. Raw Psychological test data provided by Dr. Mamak

Behaviour during interview

Mr. Minassian initially presented with a slight stutter but this subsided for most of the interviews. He presented as a right handed male with a stiff gaze with limited prosody but using some hand gestures. He never evoked his right to refuse to answer questions and appeared to take an earnest approach to describing his history. He appeared able to describe his previous behaviours and others' overt behaviours while struggling at times to describe internal experiences of himself or others. However, on a number of occasions he failed to appreciate the thrust of questions put to him, particularly regarding his internal state. His lack of emotional reaction to topics discussed was notable and his lack of emotional reaction was extreme when discussing the experiences of the victims of the index offences. Overall his presentation was highly in keeping with a diagnosis of high functioning autistic spectrum disorder.

Background (from self report)

Mr. Minassian stated that he was born in North York but initially resided in Scarborough, before moving to Thornhill and eventually Richmond Hill, all throughout residing with his parents. He stated that his earliest memories were "between neutral and happy" and involved playing on various play structures in the neighbourhood. The earliest memories he described did not involve other people.

Mr. Minassian stated that his mother was even tempered and typically calm, but would yell if he or his brother did something "stupid". He stated that she did not have any difficulties with substance abuse and worked in what sounded like book-keeping. He stated that she was not depressed or sad in his view. He stated that his father was the disciplinarian in the family who used loss of privileges as punishment. He stated that his father did a lot with him growing up which he attributed to his brother being more social and out of the house more. He indicated that his father was a software developer and they shared an interest in math and action movies. He stated that although his father had a temper his father never used corporal punishment or was physically abusive. He stated that he and his father could always talk about math but if he was having trouble at school he preferred to speak to his mother as she became less upset.

When asked which parent he might be more similar to he stated neither, as they are both

extroverted and he is introverted and "always in my own world". He noted that his brother was much more outgoing than him and not as "nerdy" although they shared an interest in math. Mr. Minassian struggled to describe his brother in more detail, asserting that this was because he never saw his brother in school.

Mr. Minassian indicated that he attended a range of schools, four different ones from junior kindergarten to grade 6 alone. He had attended a very small school, then Dellcrest, a special needs school that does not specialize in autism, before attending a general program before attending a school that specialized in autism. Finally he attended 16th avenue public school with specialty classes until the end of grade 4. He was asked what his earliest memories of school were and he described playing Lego, running in circles, spinning 4 times as a classmate was 4 years old etc. Again these memories were devoid of interactions with others.

Mr. Minassian stated that he enjoyed high school more than the earlier grades as he was able to pick his courses, had a longer lunch and had spares. However he stated that he did not like homework and stated that his social problems and loneliness increased in high school. He stated that he would put on a "fake voice" that was artificial because he did not want to be made fun of while using his real voice. He stated that his fake voice was obviously viewed as fake by others, not because he sensed this but because others asked him why he used this voice. He stated that he also used his fake voice in order to get more attention. He stated that he was in a "constant" state of fear, but also stated that he had mixed feelings about the teasing, stating that he disliked the teasing, feared the people and rejection, but liked the attention that came with the teasing. He estimated that he was teased roughly weekly. Despite this situation he stated that he had 3 close friends who remained his friends through grade and high school.

Mr. Minassian stated that he was attending both regular classes and special education classes in high school. He stated that despite his sadness and loneliness (and what later in the interview he would note as ongoing anger) he did not rebel to any significant degree. He noted that he did not use drugs, skip school, stay out late and did not try alcohol until the age of 19. He stated that his 3 friends were similarly non-rebellious. He stated that he experienced some pressure from his parents to perform well in school and that his father was upset with his marks, particularly in math. He stated that he continued to enjoy movies such as Star Wars, Harry Potter, Rambo and Scream as well as playing video games, the latter he would later note became an "addiction", particularly when he attempted a college program and entering the workforce.

Mr. Minassian noted that he had romantic crushes while in high school. His first was a same age peer in a learning strategies class. He stated that she was the only girl in the class which they attended when he was between the ages of 14-16. He stated that he hid his attraction and that he

was attracted to her because she was the only girl in the class. [redacted] He stated that he had a stronger crush in grade 11 biology class which occurred because he sat behind this person.

Mr. Minassian asserted that he "pretended to be afraid of girls" and would fake teeth chattering or mimic a crying sound. He stated that he did this because he was too shy and knew he would "mess it up" if he actually spoke to girls. He stated that once in high school a girl said "hi" to him in the hall and he simply responded with an exaggerated crying sound.

Mr. Minassian noted that he was always clumsy in gym but that it was required over his 5 year tenure in high school. He stated that high school took him 5 years as he never had a full course load. At this point in the interview he did not discuss the homicidal thoughts he struggled with in his high school years, but did discuss these later in the interview. He did state that his brother suggested that he attend post secondary training in software and security. He applied and attended Seneca College as part of their joint program with York University. He had wanted to become a mathematician but his father convinced him to pursue a more practical vocational goal, thus he attended Seneca while residing at home in Richmond Hill.

Mr. Minassian stated that he enjoyed Seneca more than high school and was not teased. He stated that in his view the teasing stopped because he stopped the fake voice and "all the goofy stuff". He stated that he remained shy, awkward and lonely however. He stated that he didn't really think that much about getting a girlfriend until he attended college. He stated that when he decided that he actually wanted a girlfriend he became "naively optimistic" that this would happen, and fantasied about asking women out and that they would always say yes. He stated that he would often fantasize about walking holding hands with a woman. He stated that he still saw 2 of his 3 friends while attending Seneca. He said that as time went by at Seneca he became more and more lonely and spent a lot of time in the library listening to other people speak, adding that no one was speaking to him. He stated that he lost hope in getting a girlfriend and switched programs to business software development. He stated that he did ask one woman out in the library but later realized she was not interested. He stated that he thought about this rejection for a few weeks but got over it and didn't view this as a major event in his history.

Mr. Minassian stated that he has a number of regrets in his life, including the mistakes he made while at Seneca which involved dropping courses and not studying enough, adding that these regrets continue to haunt him. Eventually he started not to attend classes and failed some courses. He stated that from April 2016 he did not attend class and got a job, while lying to his parents about his course failures and dropping out.

Mr. Minassian stated that he was working from May to August 2016 involving computer work. He stated that the job was boring and repetitive. He stated that he could complete his responsibilities in 2 hours or less and spent the rest of the day staring at his monitor waiting for his day to end. He stated that he started spending his time playing video games. At this point in the interview Mr. Minassian described himself as having been extremely addicted to video games due to his shyness and stated that this addiction distorted his thinking. He stated that this distortion led him to continue playing video games at work despite 5 warnings, leading to his being fired in October 2016. He stated at that time he was playing "Runescape" (a medieval fantasy multiplayer battle game).

Mr. Minassian stated that he lied to his parents about being fired and played video games at home "all day" as he was unsuccessful in finding a job despite his lying on his application indicating that he had finished his degree. He stated that he applied for the army, then changed his mind, only to change his mind back toward this goal. He attended a recruiting centre and in May 2017, was accepted into the infantry and went to Quebec for training. The experience was not what he expected and he described struggling with small things that he found complex like sewing his name badge on all items in his kit. He stated that he struggled with his time management, routine and completing his homework. He was vague as to what this involved specifically but stated that he applied for and received a voluntary release as he found the training too stressful. He did not mention whether he was looking forward to accessing firearms through his training but, as noted below, stated this to other interviewers. At this point in the interview he had not discussed his history of homicidal ideation and desire to access a gun to engage in a school shooting.

Upon his release from the army he returned home and had a "serious discussion" with his father where he admitted lying about attending various courses, failing courses and being fired from work. His father stated that he needed to do something with his life and complete a degree; he began attending college courses again in January of 2018 and by April 2018 he had completed his courses.

Up to this point in Mr. Minassian's account of his history, he had not described incel involvement or having incel beliefs, despite the timeline approaching the index offences. I asked Mr. Minassian why this was and he did not really address the question but stated that he had made up a story about contacting Elliot Rodger (a well known incel who had committed murder for the incel cause) in order to make his crimes appear more "interesting and sensational". He stated that he had been regularly visiting an incel website from early 2016 and had heard about Rodger and his "manifesto". He went on to mention the manifesto repeatedly over the next

portion of the interview despite his claim that he was not overly familiar with incel beliefs, the red, blue and black pill etc. Mr. Minassian indicated that he did have sympathy for Rodger and Rodger's shyness. He stated that he read about Rodger's plans to kill people prior to Rodger's offences and thought about these stated desires a lot. He stated that he imagined acting out Rodger's manifesto in real life a lot. At this point Mr. Minassian stated that from his early high school years he had harboured fantasies of engaging in a high school shooting. He stated that these fantasies were frequent and that he enjoyed these fantasies and believed he would enjoy engaging in the actual act. He stated that he had always fantasized about using a handgun in these scenarios and would be targeting students he disliked and random people, attempting to avoid killing people that he liked. He stated that these fantasies typically occurred when he was alone and not distracted. He stated that he knew that people would be upset that their loved ones would have been killed but he stated that he would get a high score in terms of the number of people killed in such an act, a description that was similar to how he would later describe his thought processes surrounding the index offences. He stated that he felt lonely and teased and experienced numerous failures because of his shyness and not studying and if he had engaged in a school shooting and then committed suicide he would be free of all of these negative thoughts. I asked him what he might want on his tombstone if he had actually done this and he stated that he didn't really think about this but thought more about the news story and how much press he would receive. When asked what stopped him from engaging in the actual shooting he stated that he had no real way to actually obtain a handgun without risk to himself or risk of getting caught. Eventually, after further questioning, he also stated that he had a hope that these thoughts would not continue after high school.

While attending college he stated that, initially, he felt like he had a bit of a sense of purpose, other than the school shooting goal, which was good for him, but he also stated that he felt more alone. Again he stated that he naively expected to have more luck meeting women. He noted that he had read incel material and agreed that he experienced women as shallow and gravitating toward men with characteristics he lacked due to this, but stated that he never really was very concerned about the different pill philosophies and the related degree of pessimism these implied. He stated that by 2018 he was convinced that he was going to engage in some form of mass killing and his thought processes turned to how he might do this and accomplish it successfully.

I asked Mr. Minassian how his thoughts transitioned from killing peers whom he disliked at school to wanting to target women. This was one of the few times in our contact that Mr. Minassian appeared to be vague and possibly evasive. Eventually he stated that toward the end of his first semester in 2018 he became more lonely and convinced he would not be able to ever have a relationship with a woman. He stated that he became nervous that if he did get a job he

would mess it up again and get fired and became more immersed in incel discussions and materials online. Mr. Minassian began discussing Mr. Rodger and his desire to obtain as much or more attention than Rodger did.

Exploring this avenue required again revisiting Mr. Minassian's history from about 2016 to the index offences. Mr. Minassian reiterated that he had left his program and started working and felt like his life was not going anywhere and he was fired due to wasting his time on video games, then the army did not work out and he felt especially ineffectual when his parents picked him up at the military training center. He started over at school but somewhere through these setbacks he began to not just read about incel ideas and Rodger's manifesto but imagined what he could do that was like what Rodger had aspired to do but in effect being more successful than Rodger and attracting more attention than him. He stated that he was getting the sense that he would never get a girlfriend or accomplish anything worthwhile and killing a number of people would be an indicator that he could do something very effectively and thus would be redeeming. He stated that he was not pleased with himself for backing down from actually engaging in a school shooting and other instances where he could have killed and he didn't want to continue to view himself as a failure who always backed down. He was rather inconsistent as to how important killing women was, relative to a desire to simply kill people. At this point in the interview he stated that he wanted to kill women preferably but obtaining the highest number of kills was his over-arching goal, ideally 100 people. He stated that if he accomplished this the media would talk about him and his level of success a great deal. He stated that he would obtain a high score on the Encyclopedia Dramatica score board and a great deal of recognition on the Reddit incel page. (Encyclopedia Dramatica is a parody themed website celebrating troll culture. The site has been criticized as being racist, homophobic and misogynist. The site celebrates porn, racism and a range of hate messages. There was apparently a drop down menu for mass shooters tracking highest scores). Through the remainder of our discussion regarding this issue he asserted that he became very focused on the sense of finally having an experience of success that an effective mass killing would provide. He stated that he would have been acknowledged as doing a great thing at least by some, rather than his acts being a message in support of the incel cause. He stated that if his kill count was high he would not be viewed as a failure or a screw up that never got promoted and was thought of as weird. He stated that rather than die in obscurity as a weird person, he would be a celebrity of sorts who had been highly effective. He stated that if he had been successful in killing in 100 people and succeeded in his suicide by cop plan, he would have set a world record.

Mr. Minassian stated that by this point, i.e. two weeks before the offence, he "can't not do it" and was planning/hoping to rent a large cube van in order to accomplish the multiple murders (as noted by Ryder staff his plan had apparently involved a large truck). He described worrying about

whether he would be able to speak in a neutral enough tone to get away with the rental, whether he would be able to act natural enough to be allowed to rent the vehicle. He stated that he was relieved when he was actually able to book the vehicle. Twenty days after making the booking he picked up the vehicle, after finishing some courses. He stated that he "knew he would do it" as he had been spending his time thinking about his school shooting plans, reading Rodger's manifesto and watching his YouTube videos, waiting and hoping that nothing would go wrong. At this point despite his previous statements, he stated that he wanted the highest score, in terms of number of kills but also stated that he wanted to send a message to the Stacys and Chads for dating abusive and aggressive men (i.e. for the folly of Stacys dating such men) implying a more incel based motivation for the offences. He stated that he was asked for ID as well as a credit card and had to wait for 20 minutes, during which he was nervous that he might be caught. He was afraid that he would be asked security questions and whether he was carrying a weapon. He had rehearsed some lies in case he was asked such questions, planning to say he needed to help a friend move and using a voice of a younger person as he thought this would make his prepared story more believable.

Mr. Minassian stated that he planned on committing the offences further south on Yonge street but then when he saw groups of people he decided to "go for it". He stated that after hitting the first group he thought it would be better to hit people that were in a line. After doing this he stated that he asked himself if he really did that, before hitting another group. He stated that then his thought process had no words and he just kept on with no plan other than to keep on going. He stated that before starting to hit people he had hoped to hit more women, but once he got started he was just hoping to kill people of any gender. He stated that he attempted not to hit poles or flower pots or medians that would stop his progress. However one of the victims' drink splashed onto his windshield and obstructed his view. He stated that he could not see and did not have the wherewithal to use the wipers, resulting in his driving over a bench, puncturing the tire and ending the vehicle's momentum. He stated that he could hear the police sirens approaching, exited the vehicle and proceeded to pull out his wallet in order to enact the suicide by cop portion of his plan. He stated that if he had died as planned, he would have wanted to be remembered by the killings that he did accomplish as an achievement or as a mark on all eternity. He stated that he would no longer be viewed as a weird screw up but as having been competent at this one thing. He then stated that at this point he accepts that he will be spending the rest of his life either detained in the correctional system or in hospital. I asked him if at this point he still viewed this as having been a worthy goal. He stated that he feels happy and excited that people were watching television and talking about what he had done. He stated that despite not meeting his goal of 100 he was satisfied with the count of 10 and that he "had not wasted anything, I was effective enough". He did say he was sad that his count was low and that this viewpoint has not really shifted. He then changed the subject, noting that his family has been visiting him which

was good. He stated that his family has not discussed his offences with him but has discussed cool things like the mars mission and other exciting things.

I asked him what he might have wanted on his tombstone if his suicide by cop plan had worked. He stated that he would want something dramatic for media effect such as maybe "Stacys denied him love so he denied them life".

We discussed a number of test items to ensure that he understood the thrust of the questions and to explore his answers in more detail. On the ADS he endorsed keeping his anger to himself. When this was discussed he indicated that he generally does not express or show his anger, but prefers to let his anger dissipate while he is alone, on its own, but added that thinking about the perceived insult can prolong his experience of anger. He also noted that he is not prone to confront a person who has angered him directly. On the ADS he endorsed resenting that life has treated him badly and he explained that he has not gone as far as people he knows in terms of careers and he sees that others have "cool jobs" while he is only stuck in a rut or hole, noting that the job he had was not pleasant, that he had not finished his degree and if it was not for his parents he would be homeless. He stated that his "depression, loneliness and sense of failure" fueled his anger. He stated that he often fantasized about changing his irreversible past decisions, going back in time and somehow being more popular with the end result that he would have more friends as an adult. He noted that his anger and resentment were also fuelled by seeing people on Facebook who seem to be doing better than him and seemed happier.

We discussed a range of PAI items in order to explore his history in specific areas and to ensure that he understood items. He had indicated very true to having "inner struggles that cause problems" for him. In discussing this he stated that he had been arrested and is now in jail so he has struggles, indicating that he did not really appreciate the thrust of the question, a difficulty that would repeat itself in reviewing these items. He did indicate that he feels as though he has let his parents down, both in terms of his past struggles and the index offences. Although he did not appear to have specific people in mind he stated that he wanted to let people from his past know how much that had hurt him. He indicated that he has, historically, struggled with a range of fears other than general social anxiety and fears of interacting with females. He stated that he was afraid of dogs, seeing the back of his head in mirrors, being in a situation with multiple mirrors with the potential of a repeating loop, concave spoons and their reflection etc. Mr. Minassian indicated very true to "most people have good intentions" which surprised me. Unlike Elliott Rodger, Mr. Minassian stated that he believed that most people don't try to harm in general and that the people he killed were random rather than people who might do harm to him or other people like him. He endorsed that he felt people had let him down on the PAI but he

stated that more recently he has realized that his friends have actually not, but he thought so at the time of the index offences. He endorsed being troubled by memories of past experiences; when asked to describe these he indicated various mistakes in high school and university concerning procrastination etc. Despite the above response to the internal struggles item, on another similar item he stated that he did need help dealing with social anxiety, OCD, fear of dirty hands and having to do things in a particular order. (Of course of note he did not state that he needed help in his thought process leading him to viewing the offences as a reasonable action.) Similarly he endorsed having nightmares about his past, but these involved memories of having been tongue-tied and failing socially. He endorsed that he had thought of what he might say in a suicide note. He made it clear that he has only had suicidal ideation on specific occasions, including the index offence period. He stated that he would state in such a note that he had failed at a range of things and he simply did not want to be on the planet anymore. He added that some of his most anxiety evoking failures involved exams rather than social situations.

Collateral source material

There are a number of rich and thorough reports contained in the collateral source material in addition to a large number of pages of observation notes. The information is likely available to the reader and thus its contents will not be reviewed in full detail here. However it has been reordered in the following text, as there is an excessive amount of collateral material available in this case. There is a risk of losing the essential or important components of this material in the large amount of information available. In order to reduce this risk, comments regarding specific entries will be delineated by parentheses. The material will be divided roughly by early history, events surrounding the time around the offences and information largely gathered after the offences. For the sake of brevity this will be largely summarized in point form.

Information recorded prior to the offences:

In 1997 he was assessed at Markham Stouffville and was noted to have limitations in language skills but his motor skills were catching up. At that time he was already interested in computers and had strong visual memory and perceptual skills. Symbolic play was noted.

Some school and early medical records were available for review. These have reviewed in Dr. Chauhan's report. Mr. Minassian had been diagnosed with Tourette's in 2008, had an abscess treated in 2011 and was diagnosed with Thalassemia trait in 2017 as well as Pervasive

Developmental Disorder (PDD). He had been treated with Clonidine and low dose Abilify with little improvement in his tic behaviour. The PDD diagnosis was given at age 4, and it was noted that his brother had tics and other family members had OCD. In 2010 spitting was noted to be a huge problem which had been labelled "complex motor tics". It was noted that his brother had responded well to Clonidine for his tics. Early medical notes indicated that he exhibited a lack of eye contact, language delay, a fascination with numbers and letters. (It is important to note that Mr. Minassian had a lot of specialized service and supports from an early age to assist him with his difficulties and any frustrations that might flow from these difficulties). He was noted to be "in his own world" and not socializing much with other children.

Early school related records appear to span from 1997 to 2002. Giant Step school and related specialized services reports are contained in the records. At age 5.5 he was receiving special assistance with speech/language, occupational therapy, music therapy, play therapy and assistance with ADLs. In that year he was described as having energy and good eye contact. He could construct stories and use symbolic play that was highly imaginative. (This would be somewhat unusual for an individual who is suffering from severely concrete thinking). He displayed a fascination with the doll house bathroom and elimination. At 6.5 he was in the same program. It was noted that he asked questions even though he knew the answers, seeming to enjoy the attention. (It is important to note his engaging in atypical behaviour for attention began early.) At times he shouted "I hate you" when frustrated. His language processing was assessed as being at the 36th percentile (again this is not severely impaired). An assessor noted that he can figure out the intended meaning of a picture but struggles to perceive it directly. (This is an important reference as he continues to display this pattern in the present test results noted below, which involve understanding interpersonal experiences). In 2001, at age 8 or 9, he was described as being highly competitive. He participated in activities to increase his understanding of social conventions, public vs private and good and bad touch seemingly in part due to disruptive behaviour at the 16th avenue school involving disruptive behaviour and sexualized language. He was also seen in play therapy. In 2002 he continued to be involved in speech and language programming. However his expressive language skills formally were in the high average range while his receptive language skills were in the upper segment of the average range. It was also noted that he had a weakness in making inferences and figurative language (which seems to imply some degree of concreteness in this thought processes at that time). In 2005 a principal's report indicated that he repeatedly states that he "is afraid of girls" or "don't hurt me" as he walks by female students. The author did not believe that this appeared to be a genuine fear but seemed to be a method of negative attention seeking.

A range of materials were drawn from Mr. Minassian's computer, although I did not find a true browser history. A video containing an ad or a mock ad for sunglasses with crudely taped

speakers attached to them contains Mr. Minassian using his announcement like voice.

A number of essays were included, seemingly essays that were academic assignment oriented. These appear to be written between 2007 and 2010 (age 14-17). The 2007 entries include "the right thing to do" whereby he espoused that stealing is wrong and if one knows this is happening one should not keep it a secret. He also indicates that if a person is poor this might be looked on differently (implying some degree of empathy, at least in a formulaic sense). He also wrote an essay on values indicating "I would not budge from my commitment" and "I would not budge from these values". In another essay he argues that spanking of children is OK if the children are not hurt and if the punishment is not for "no reason". Despite Mr. Minassian clearly putting on an act at times growing up he writes an essay labelled "R is for real" whereby he discusses having 6 friends who show their real personality and if these people acted fake then one could not know the real them. He also writes about being comfortable who he is, noting that he is like Spongebob in that they are both silly. He goes on to write that it is OK to be different and weird. He indicates that he might be rejected for his smile, laugh, silly and high pitched voice, which he states is the reason why people don't want to be with him. He writes about pretending to be afraid of girls and acting silly at school, but indicated that he worships (then lists 5 males names). In 2008 he wrote an essay "murder is wrong" whereby he writes about how Hitler wronged the Jewish people and Canada contributed to the war effort. He also writes about the harmful effects of H1N1 and the long term impact of autism on people. In 2009 he writes about bullies being bad and wanting to prevent young boys from being bullied. In another assignment he notes that affirmative action is good and in yet another notes that native Canadians were not treated well and had a lot taken away. He also notes that in his view his emotional intelligence is average and he can apply his knowledge. He also discusses murder as self-defence and the need for children to feel safe. He also writes that he is too scared to notice a particular female and writes that he cannot compliment himself "because I am bad". In another essay he writes that he is a happy person who never gets in a bad mood. In this area of documents he apparently achieves 53/100 on an emotional intelligence test. In 2010 he writes about cheaters on an exam and clearly acknowledges it as wrong but does not seem to apply a more collectivist rationale for this. An updated justice document is also contained in which he attempts to explain the utility of incarceration in terms of "teaching a lesson", protection of the public and forcing offenders to apologize. He also discusses issues of accused rights.

In a 2008 assignment he discusses Theroux's thought of how men are expected to behave in order to be viewed as "manly". (Of importance diagnostically is he discusses 2 metaphors, one concerning carrying knives and the other in terms of an "ill fitting coat" in non-concrete terms, particularly the latter metaphor).

2009 purpose of sentencing assignment. He seems to be aware of the concept of deterrence, although it is unclear whether this is general or specific. Another assignment related to police search vs personal rights. Another is a film review of a movie: A time to Kill. (This is a movie that is essentially about whether past and present injustice gives a person the right to take the law into their own hands, which is relevant to what may be the belief system driving some incels.) Mr. Minassian does indicate that he understands that mistreatment, past and present must be taken into account but argues that the male perpetrator had mens rea because he had rage but no noted other disturbance.

Undated assignment states that he is a passive person with great self esteem.

2009 assignment concerning the automatism defense concerning an accused who stabbed his wife soon after feeling insulted. Mr. Minassian argues that mere words would not evoke an automatism reaction.

In 2009 he completed an assignment, it seems, that involved the "bucket list" concept. He indicated that he would never compliment himself, never insult David or burn 1 Ava Crescent (it is not clear what this means, but this appears to be a residential address). He also lists 5 names of individuals that he labels as "glorious".

2017 CV (resume) and cover letters. He appears to understand the need to make a good impression but indicated tree planning and foodbank work that doesn't seem to be mentioned in other portions of the record.

A number of military forms are provided but most of them do not appear to be filled out.

In 2018 he completes an online personality test labelled the predictive index and his results assert that he is persistent, focused on his goals, is deliberate and cooperative. On an employment screening test it is noted that his aims and visions are important to him.

<u>Information recorded around the time of the offences:</u>

A range of Facebook and other computer records were provided. On April 23, 2018 he did mention the incel rebellion has already begun and that we will overthrow the Chads and Stacys, hail the supreme gentleman Elliott Rodger. On March 11, 2018 he contacted a person he knew from the army and around that time he contacted a range of people essentially indicating "long time no see". During this same period Brandon asked Mr. Minassian if they could meet up and a date of April 2 was set. Mr. Minassian stated that attending Seneca was "awesome" and much

more challenging than high school. Mr. Minassian claimed that he has been working at a programming job for 1.5 years and stated that he doesn't pretend to be afraid of girls anymore. (It is not clear how much of this is impression management.) Another friend seems to indicate that his behaviour was just an act and was fun, Mr. Minassian agrees that it was an act but that he can't do it anymore.

Witness statements:

[redacted] Minassian, Mr. Minassian's mother, gave a statement on April 23, 2018. She seemed to have some difficulty understanding the caution. She notes that she and her husband were born in Iran and that at the moment her older son, [redacted] and her husband [redacted] are out of work. She indicated that today, the day of the index offences, Mr. Minassian was going to see friends and that her husband had dropped him off. She indicated that [redacted] was more talkative and Mr. Minassian was more shy. She noted that Mr. Minassian did have a driver's license but didn't drive much.

[redacted] Minassian, Mr. Minassiann's father, gave a statement on April 23, 2018. He was not clearly aware of the year of Mr. Minassian's birthday. He indicated that early in the day he had dropped Mr. Minassian off to meet with his friend Brandon. He stated that he waited in order to ensure that Brandon showed up and Mr. Minassian had indicated Brandon had. He stated that neither of his two sons had any police involvement.

[redacted] Minassian, Mr. Minassian's brother also gave a statement on April 23, 2018. He indicated that Mr. Minassian was "laid back" and that his marks, for his recent assignments, would not be posted for another month. He indicated Mr. Minassian watched YouTube channel Numberphile and was into video gaming more than [redacted], and that Mr. Minassian has 2 computers. He noted Mr. Minassian had special needs in school but was not aware that he had any academic accommodations in university. He stated that Mr. Minassian didn't have a lot of friends, didn't like driving and was not good at it. He stated that Mr. Minassian did not act out or lash out as a child but that unusual things like holes in bread bothered him. He noted that Mr. Minassian had no interest in sports and was home 90-95 percent of the time. He stated that Mr. Minassian's plan to go into the military surprised the family and he was of the view that Mr. Minassian was not thinking about what would come next in or after the military. He was of the view that the whole family was essentially atheist. He said that the thought that Mr. Minassian would commit the index offences was shocking to him.

April 23, 2018 booking hall. Mr. Minassian is being processed by officers. He is asked if he is alright and he nodded yes. He had 280 dollars. He indicated that he did not want to speak to a

lawyer. He stated that he understood why he was being detained. When asked if he has any illnesses he stated, "yes I am a murdering piece of shit". He then returns to answering questions in a more normal fashion. Overall he presents as relatively calm and controlled.

Mr. Minassian gave a statement on April 23, 2018 at 22:46 which is available on video and as a transcript. He was interviewed by a sex crime polygraph officer. Initially the officer asks Mr. Minassian how he is doing and Mr. Minassian states that he is doing well and asks the officer how he is. Later Mr. Minassian admits to being shaken. He seems to understand the caution and mentions seeing this on TV. He indicated that he did not want to speak to a lawyer but had spoken to duty counsel. He indicated that he understands what first degree murder is noting that it is "cold blooded" (using non-literal meaning even under duress). He noted that his lawyer advised him not to answer questions. He stated that he did not want to answer questions re: if he had medical or psychological issues, his parents, Facebook, whether he had a job lined up but did state "yes I have military experience". He went on however to state that he was interested in learning how to use weapons such as assault rifles and stated that Call of Duty is not realistic. He stated that he played video games 5 hours a day.

Incels are discussed and whether various incel individuals such as Mercer, Elliott Rodger or others including Mr. Minassian are trying to instigate an uprising. Mr. Minassian discusses being inspired by Elliott Rodger in 2016 to overthrow Chads and force the Stacys to reproduce with the incels. He states that Elliott Rodger used a gun and a vehicle to convert life status to death status, noting that 6 lives were converted to deaths. He noted that Mercer used a gun. He claimed that he had communicated with both of these individuals, who had used code names. He stated that Elliott Rodger used the codename Valtharion (this is a World of Warcraft character who engages in torture and Elliott Rodger had posted videos using this name). He stated that Mercer had used the codename Space Robot. Mr. Minassian stated that he had used the codename XBoxlightside. He claimed that they had discussed their frustrations with society, timed strikes and what to do with "normies". He went on to state that the goal was not to kill the normies but to subjugate them. He mentions Pepe (seeming to be Pepe Le Pew, a loony tunes character who is a skunk rejected when attempting to be romantic toward cats). He alleges that he was interested with Elliott Rodger from 2014 until Elliott Rodger was killed. (This appeared to be grandstanding, fantasy or both. Mr. Minassian later admits that he did this to increase potential impact and media attention concerning his offences.) Mr. Minassian mentions that Elliott Rodger committed his murders on the 23rd (of May) and was proud of Elliott Rodger's bravery. He stated, "I was starting to feel radicalized" (even for non ASD individuals it is often very difficult to reflect on such a state until long after being in such a state). Mr. Minassian stated that he did not want to sit on the sidelines festering in his own unhappiness, adding that he had been planning the index offences for a month and that it was time to stand up to the Chads and Stacys. He asserted that

he had planned to use a van as it was not too big but a perfect size etc (this appears to be yet another statement given for effect in that the Ryder staff noted in this report indicated that he was confused when he received a van rather than a truck). He stated that at the time he rented the van he was thinking of the uprisings he would inspire (although later he denied this and stated that he was mainly interested having a high kill count). He stated that people congratulated him online for the act he was about to commit. He stated that the foundation of the world would be shaken by the event and stated that he posted on 4chan that the incel rebellion has begun. He asserted that he took transit to Ryder, lists buses, waits etc (later in the interview he admits this was a lie in order for his father not to be viewed as an accomplice, one of the many indicators that he was well aware that his actions were illegal and wrong). He stated that while driving his goal was burning in his mind. He stated that he ended his striking pedestrians only because a drink was spilled on the windshield and he could not see. He stated that he desired to then be killed by a policeman. He stated that he was rejected by a woman in 2012 and felt crushed as well being rejected by a woman at a 2013 Halloween party (which later appeared to be related to the Elliott Rodger manifesto rather than Mr. Minassian's actual experience). Initially he refuses to answer about getting a ride to Ryder. When asked how he feels he stated that "I feel like I accomplished my mission". He stated that he did not know what he would say to the victims' families and didn't know if he would apologise to them, but stated that he would be willing to speak again to the officer. (There are a number of important aspects to this video. Many will be well apparent to the reader who has seen the video. First is the casual and relatively anxiety-free manner in which the offences are discussed. Second are the statements indicating knowledge of wrongfulness. Third are the inaccuracies he put forward seeming to increase his importance or related to his fantasies of importance. Fourth which is likely less obvious is the more prepared nature of his statements relative to his more typical interview presentation. Fifth is although some of his statements are on the concrete side he is not extreme in this regard).

Ismael [redacted] provided a statement to police on April 25, 2008 (likely 2018), 73 pages. (This man's style of speech suggests that there is an increased likelihood that he suffers from at least subtle symptoms of ASD). He indicated that Mr. Minassian has been a friend since 2008 and they were in learning strategies (special education) class together. He stated that they would play video games that were not first person shooter in nature and watch cartoons. He indicated that Mr. Minassian wanted a girlfriend. They both played Runescape and he had last seen Mr. Minassian in February of 2018. He stated that the offence was unexpected and that Mr. Minassian was not an angry person. He added that Mr. Minassian was not angry in high school but acted "goofy". He noted that most in their class carried the diagnosis of Asperger's syndrome. (This person's account does add to our understanding of Mr. Minassian in my opinion. He clearly hid his anger and resentment from his friends. It does not seem like he tried to share his ideas in this domain, quite possibly because he was aware of others likely responding

badly to his anger and apparent intentions. Finally school shooters have, historically sought out others of similar mind as co accused in their actions. This energizing effect of having others of similar mind may have come from the internet rather than from like-minded peers in real life for Mr. Minassian.)

May 2, 2108 a friend of Mr. Minassian's father gives a statement. He was thinking of hiring Mr. Minassian but it appears that Mr. Minassian's demeanour led him not to hire Mr. Minassian. Two other individuals gave similar statements concerning potentially hiring Mr. Minassian and deciding against it.

On April 23, 2018, the day of the offences, Mr. M. Delgrosso gave a statement. He worked at Ryder and rented the vehicle to Mr. Minassian. He noted that Mr. Minassian was confused as to why he received a panel van rather than a truck, despite seeming to have reserved such a vehicle. He stated that it was "weird" and Mr. Minassian asked 3 times if it was the right vehicle. He stated that Mr. Minassian jumped out of the vehicle and asked how to put it into drive. He stated that Mr. Minassian was nervous and jumpy.

On April 23, 2018, PC Butler gave a statement indicating that he came upon Mr. Minassian who was already cuffed by that time, but Mr. Minassian indicated that he wanted to die via suicide by cop.

On April 23, 2018, PC Lam, the arresting officer, gave a statement. By the time he arrived on scene the van was "staggering on the center line". His siren was activated and he could not hear what Mr. Minassian was saying as Mr. Minassian pointed something at him. PC Lam took cover as Mr. Minassian drew something out of his pocket which turned out to be a wallet. PC Lam extended his baton and Mr. Minassian surrendered without resistance but asked PC Lam to kill and shoot him.

<u>Information recorded after the offences, which may involve reports of previous events:</u>

TSDC records he is not suspected of mental illness, April 29, 2018 seems upgraded from 13 to 16 counts of Attempt Murder. He requested PC. Again pacing, exercising, reading, board games. Meeting with a psychologist, described as cooperative. Admitted April 24, 2018, one day after the index offfence.

TSDC notes from June to July 2018, 126 pages. Most of this period involves Q10 monitoring. Although I could find no real mention of suicidal ideation or behaviour it was during this period, July 17, 2018, that he drank some liquid soap and self-induced vomiting to get rid of the taste. I

could not find much specific documentation of this incident or ideation surrounding it.

There are a number of typed notes by CAMH staff, members of the FEIS team. During May 2018, shortly before the soap incident, he denied suicidal ideation. He was seeing both a psychiatrist and a psychologist. Although notes above indicate good engagement in programming, he is noted to be not very open and wanting to think about the present not the past. He is noted to be generally calm, without thought disorder and denying distress. He denies thought insertion, mind reading, denied a history of depression, denied ever having psychiatric symptoms etc. he indicated that his main stress was light and noise in the institution. He indicated that stress management is good. (it would appear that whether it is purposeful or not some impression management is occurring as this is close in time to his assessment at St. Joseph's when he endorsed a great deal of suicidal ideation on testing, and negative affect during interviews etc)

424 pages, TSDC records, volume 1, a no contact list for safety, at this juncture the Attempt Murder count is 13 here. He is described as reading, declines offers to see media. From April 2018 to July 2019 records, was "aware of surroundings", frequently saw the psychologist, multiple books requested, no medications mentioned, had visits, declines chaplain, engaging in Sudoku, watching TV, about 120 min out of cell a day, thanks staff frequently during some periods, exercising, segregation unit the whole time, says comfortable in day room with a particular inmate, civil suit re Ryder rental mentioned, declines some outings, reading The Selfish Gene (re: socio-biology of passing on selective/selfish genes).

358 pages volume 2, initially a segregation review, he was not suspected of having a mental illness, now lists as Attempt Murder x 16, same pacing and yard access, sees psychologist a number of times in 2018 and 2019 especially right after admission, some medications are dispensed, not antipsychotics, upon admission he was cooperative and saw the psychologist but declines mental health nurse.

Volume 3, June 2018, similar activities to noted above, no vegetative signs, seen by psychologist and psychiatrist a number of times, has a few video visits, May 25, 2018 is seen flipping through pages of paper and flushing paper down the toilette. Handwritten notes in this section are difficult to read. This period involves some Q10 and some Q15. Seen by lawyer, psychologist. He exhibited some "marching back and forth" early in his stay.

200 pages, TSDC records, watch log August to September 2019, engaged in reading, nothing unusual, dayroom a lot, a lot of abbreviations used, some stretching, some pacing, yard time, exercising, comfortable and compatible with another inmate, name redacted, some running, some

watching TV but not much, [redacted], does have contact with lawyer.

200 pages, June to August, 2019 TSDC observations similar to above, but video visits, dayroom exercising (active with no vegetative signs of depression).

8 pages Oct 2019 TSDC, same as above.

TSDC health records, 82 pages, hard to read. He is on close observation January 7, 2019 due to suicidal ideation, the specifics of which do not appear to be described. He is not on any medications, reports doing well and denies hallucinations and delusions. On January 28, 2019 he wants to socialize to get out of his own world and to be off constant observation. He is noted to be future oriented despite recorded concerns about suicide. In February of 2019 he declined CBT (Cognitive Behavioural Therapy). On February 29, 2019 a psychiatrist notes that the only time he was suicidal was when he consumed the liquid soap, noted elsewhere in the records. In March of 2019 his affect as described as "unusual", blunted and his thought processes are noted to be concrete and polite. In March of 2019 it is noted that he is getting along with a fellow inmate, his mood is improving but his affect is restricted. In September of 2019 he requested medication for pain. Multiple notations of his not being psychotic. Notation from St. Joseph's Hamilton is reported to have indicated that he "attempted suicide on many occasions" (which seems at odds with other records).

TSDC health records continued: he attended a number of CBT sessions from March to October 2019 despite having stated earlier that he does not want to attend. He attended sessions on empathy, engagement, conflict resolution, enhancing self-control, identifying and sharing feelings, self-talk and moral and values. He is noted to have understood concepts and was well engaged.

TSDC separate entries on 7 pages note that he completed budgeting programing, bible studies and yoga in early and mid 2019. From August 3-September 26 (201 pages) he continued to be on Q15 and engaged in pacing, stretching etc. [redacted]

The St. Joseph's clinical record contains a number of Dr. Bradford's typed notes spanning a number of meetings.

Dr. Bradford met with Mr. Minassian's parents and asked them if Mr. Minassian was similar to Elliott Rodger as he described himself in his manifesto. Mr. Minassian's parents said no, noting

that they visit him and he is reading and criticizing the bible, due to inconsistencies, which was very typical behaviour for Mr. Minassian. They noted that Mr. Minassian had a job and great marks in school unlike Elliott Rodger. They indicated that Mr. Minassian could present things in front of class and Elliott Rodger could not. At one point they said that his voice during his police interview was the voice he uses when he is making a speech. They also assert that Mr. Minassian was too shy to ask a girl out and that his claim of this in a 2013 Halloween party is unlikely. In the notes Dr. Bradford indicated that in Mr. Minassian's video statement he indicates that his actions were inspired by Elliott Rodger and Mercer, describes viewing the van as a weapon, using coded language on the internet concerning a beta uprising and incel rebellion and seems to have no emotion when describing this. He admits to lying re how he got to the Ryder rental so his father would not be viewed as an accomplice. It is noted that in the video Mr. Minassian describes the offences as planned, that he became preoccupied with Elliott Rodger's manifesto in 2016 and 2017 and became preoccupied with mass murder.

Mr. Minassian's parents indicate to Dr. Bradford that Mr. Minassian actually did not engage in much video gaming other than when he worked at Too Good financial.

Dr. Bradford met alone with Mr. Minassian on October 28, 2018. Mr. Minassian indicated that he was comfortable, was able to watch TV and complete correspondence courses. He indicated that he completely made up the Elliott Rodger and Mercer connection (this seemed to involve the claimed actual contact but at that point may have been making up the inspirations). He does say that he made up the 2013 Halloween girl rejection story but stated that he did sympathize with Elliott Rodger having no girlfriend. He admits to playing videogames at work and that he kept screwing up in basic training at the army. He discusses involvement with 4chan and having hoped for a high murder count through the index offences. Of interest to me as I did not see reference to this elsewhere is that Mr. Minassian reports that when he returned to college his father sat with him 12 hours a day, seeming to make sure he completed his work. (This could indicate that he had an increased sense that he could not complete the work alone or it could reflect the potential for disappointing his parents through highlighting how important his success was to them.) He states "to kill is extremely amoral" but that he wanted to be infamous. He clearly indicates that he knew that his actions were real and not a video game at the material time.

(More Dr. Bradford notes will follow later)

Dr. Bradford provided a provisional report dated January 17, 2020, following an admission to St. Joseph's Hamilton from July 30, 2018 to September 28, 2018, although this does not align with the Dr. Bradford interview dates. Dr. Bradford noted that due to concerns re: suicide there was a

period of "constant observation". The assessment team did not have access to a synopsis or records from Mr. Minassian's computer. Dr. Bradford notes that the offences occurred on April 23, 2018, that Mr. Minassian had just completed his degree and was due to begin a job in a few days.

The history provided contains input from both Mr. Minassian and his parents. Mr. Minassian's mother stated that Mr. Minassian did not utilize full sentences until 3.5 years of age, attended speech therapy and lacked social skills, tended to run from class and run randomly in general. She indicated that he was diagnosed with Pervasive Developmental Disorder (PDD now termed Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD)). His parents note that he was uncomfortable around females but did have some long-term male friends. They noted that he had compulsions, fixations, would spit on walls, did not like holes in bread and had an aversion to various reflective surfaces. He apparently wanted all the spoons to be facing down and was anxious around parallel lines. His parents note that at age 23 he was playing a lot of video games such as Runescape and lost his first job.

He attended a number of specialized schools and specialized programs before reintegration into mainstream schooling with special education support. They note that he was strong in math and science. The report appears to continue to be based on his parents' report. They note that he failed 2 courses when he first attended the Seneca program and hid this, then was dismissed from a job that he was not motivated to keep, then left the army training after only 2 weeks. They noted that he often daydreamed and spoke to himself and that for a brief period as a young child he would try to bang his head. Daydreaming appeared to continue into adulthood.

His medical record was reviewed. He had a history of diagnosis with Tourette's syndrome, ASD and tics, resulting in treatment with Clonidine. He was also diagnosed with Thalassemia, a form of anemia. He had discontinued Clonidine and low dose of Abilify at the time of the assessment and was not demonstrating tics.

Dr. Mamak, a forensic psychologist, provided a report referred to by Dr. Bradford, dated November 2019. She interviewed Mr. Minassian and attended Dr. Bradford's interview with Mr. Minassian's parents. Dr. Mamak indicated that Mr. Minassian took responsibility for the offences, planned the attack in the manner he did because it would have been difficult for him to get a firearm and he wanted the media attention. At the time of the interview, he was excited to see what people were saying about him. He indicated that he had looked up to mass murderers and identified with Elliott Rodger as Elliott Rodger was lonely, had a hard time meeting women, had read Elliott Rodger's manifesto a number of times and had similar and negative view of women. He reported having an interest in mass murder from 2009 (age 16 or 17) to 2016 but

fixated on Elliott Rodger from 2018. He stated that if he did it again he would try to get a higher kill count. She, like other assessors, commented on his lack of expressed emotion while recounting the offence and his motives. She noted that at times he exhibited intense eye contact and his affect brightened when the issue of what others had written about him on the internet was discussed.

Dr. Mamak had access to a range of psychological tests that were administered to Mr. Minassian during his inpatient stay. Dr. Mamak sent the raw data to me for review. It is not uncommon for different clinicians to interpret test results somewhat differently. I would not disagree with how the data is presented and interpreted by Dr. Mamak. However, in reviewing the report, would add some comments, again in parenthesis. His overall intellectual functioning based on the WAIS-IV was in the upper segment of the average range at the 87th percentile. (This effectively rules out more severe forms of autistic spectrum disorder as it would be difficult to obtain such a score with severe concrete and literal thought processes or severe sensory bound reactions). His verbal comprehension is superior to his perceptual reasoning (which would be expected due to ASD) and his working memory is superior to his processing speed (the latter is often driven down in ASD patients due to limitations in fine motor skills or perfectionism). His overall social perception scales score of 8 places him at the lower segment of the average range. (Although this is somewhat lower than his overall IQ and is in keeping with his diagnosis, the severity of his social perception difficulties is relatively minor compared to what is often observed in ASD). His main weakness was in prosody matching, which was in the bottom of the borderline range. (This is in keeping with his diagnosis as it is more difficult to use logic mediators on this subscale). His RBANS was "largely intact" with some limitations in visual/spatial skills in keeping with his WAIS-IV scores.

Mr. Minassian completed the PAI a self report measure of personality and psychopathology. The results are described in the report and indicate an individual who is unhappy, moody, has low self-esteem, feels powerless, struggles with anxiety and depression but denies vegetative symptoms. He is described as experiencing intense and recurrent suicidal ideation in addition to a harshly negative self-concept. (It is important to note that many patients with ASD who have committed offences often struggle to report symptoms in themselves and are often more able to report external stressors. In other words, many ASD patients being assessed generate quite normal profiles due to difficulties in self-awareness. Mr. Minassian does not appear to suffer from this degree of impaired self reflection).

On the ADS, a self-report measure of anger experience and expression, he is describing himself as having a mild degree of anger impairment and some difficulties with passive-aggressive expression of anger.

On the PDS he endorsed some tendency to present himself in a positive light (which is in keeping with his self-reported history of attempting to present himself to others in various ways which he viewed as potentially more positive than his real self).

In reviewing the actual data noted in Dr. Mamak's report I would add very little to her analysis. Mr. Minassian completed the PAI as a part of the present assessment. In an item by item review it must be noted that a number of items were endorsed differently. This will be discussed in more detail in the present data section of this report. In terms of the PAI he generated with Dr. Mamak, closer analysis indicated that his suicide ideation scale was well more than 2 standard deviations above the clinical average. This scale is driven by self-reported suicidal ideation. He completed this measure about 4 months post-offence. However the suicide potential index was only .43 standard deviations above the clinical average. This scale is based on research surrounding risk factors for suicidal completion. He did not endorse a number of these risk factors including physiological symptoms of depression, alcohol abuse, high activity level, drug abuse, acute interpersonal difficulties, intense current distress, poor impulse control, mistrust, mood fluctuations or somatic difficulties in general. This situation is in keeping with his not engaging in self-harm or suicidal behaviour outside one incident of drinking liquid soap and very little documentation, of the excessive amount of documentation, that actually described suicidal ideation post offence.

In terms of the rest of the data I have little to add other than his generating a score on the similarities subtest at the 98th percentile indicates that he is not suffering from a degree of difficulties with abstract reasoning and concrete thinking that is often observed in patients with ASD overall. This of course increases his potential for accurate moral reasoning, at least at an intellectual level. There is a slight difference in ADS scores noted below.

Dr. R. Chauhan's October 12, 2018 report is noted. She has expertise in younger patients with ASD. She notes that Mr. Minassian had difficulties in places with multiple mirrors where he could see the back of his head as a youth. He denied sensory concerns surrounding touch, texture or sounds. He described to her that his tic-like spitting was due to a sensation in his mouth however. She notes a longstanding interest in astrophysics and geology. He reported being bullied from grade 7 and using a goofy voice out of fear. He noted putting on an act to get others to laugh. He reported giving up on using this fake voice when entering college courses. He reported fear of being rejected by women and girls in middle school laughing at him. He noted that he approached a woman once in the library. He described living with fear of infinite loops, difficulties reading others' emotions, suffering from anxiety surrounding tests and suicidal ideation. He stated that the index offence occurred the day after he submitted his final assignment

for his degree. He stated that he felt like it would be the end of the world if he failed. To her he stated that his fascination with mass murder started in 2016 when he failed 3 courses and that he identified with Elliott Rodger. However he also told her, as he told me, that his fantasies of mass murder began in high school when he felt down and bullied. He indicated that about 3 months after leaving the army, his thoughts about Elliott Rodger increased. He stated that no one would suspect he would commit such an act as Elliott Rodger completed due to his low self-confidence. He stated that he wanted attention, began hitting random people but wished for more female victims especially young attractive women. He indicated that the index offence was worth it.

Dr. Chauhan also noted that his parents stated Mr. Minassian was always oblivious to the experiences of others. She noted that he was observed talking to himself on the unit, exhibited logical and concrete thinking and had superficial insight into his ASD. She completed two screening tests that supported his previous diagnosis of ASD. It was her view that his tic-like behaviour was likely more akin to OCD and this was in keeping with the poor response of his spitting behaviour to medications used. She noted that he struggled to a degree with reciprocal conversation and exhibited difficulties with moral reasoning.

At this point the report returns to Dr. Bradford's findings and opinions. He notes that Mr. Minassian stated that killing is extremely amoral but also noted that Mr. Minassian feels good about what he has done. He diagnoses Mr. Minassian with ASD, OCD and Tourette's syndrome and notes that there is no psychosis. He notes that ASD individuals over focus on details and can't see the big picture. He notes that Mr. Minassian has limited empathy in both the emotional and cognitive domains. Dr. Bradford notes that Mr. Minassian does not qualify for an NCR under the traditional rubric but seems to imply that Mr. Minassian may not appreciate the wrongfulness of his actions. (In my opinion Mr. Minassian's cognitive testing results indicate that under many circumstances Mr. Minassian can see the big picture or can figure it out by logic to a large degree. In addition, as will be further discussed below, one does not have to appreciate or even understand the wrongfulness of one's offence to be criminally responsible but simply be able to know the legal and moral wrongfulness. Many personality and cognitive style attributes undermine full or complete understanding and appreciation of the harmfulness of violence, particularly in the heat of the moment, that are not impairing to the extent that they prevent knowing that the act was wrong. I would argue that the offence does not flow directly from his ASD symptoms nor have his symptoms ever been severe enough to prevent him from knowing that the act was wrong).

Dr. Mamak's notes that form part of her assessment were disclosed. Mr. Minassian indicated to her that he always had help in public school and pretended to be afraid of girls. (It does not seem that Mr. Minassian mentioned his school shooting fantasies while in high school to Dr. Mamak

other than noting that he had them during a time when he was in high school.) In addition to looking up to Elliott Rodger he noted looking up to the Columbine and Virginia Tech shooters. He never disclosed his intentions or interests in mass killing to his parents. He mentioned feeling that he and Elliott Rodger were similar.

Dr. Chauhan's notes that formed part of her assessment were disclosed. To her he described the index offence as motivated by both Elliott Rodger's manifesto and a desire to shock people and to do something people would not expect. His wish for more female victims was noted.

The St. Joseph's Social work notes did not appear to provide information that had not been noted elsewhere.

Dr. Bradford's notes contained on the electronic clinical record were provided. Dr. Bradford noted that his parents indicated that the voice he used during his statement to the police involved his practiced voice that they would notice he evidenced when preparing for presentations. (This agrees with my own view of some of his voice quality on that recording, which appeared more speech like than during the interview.) Mr. Minassian, upon admission, indicated that he wanted to cooperate. He denied suicidal ideation and answered questions put to him. He was described as stretching and exercising similar to his descriptions from the TSDC. He was observed engaging in a minor ritual involving cups and reported some knee pain. He denied psychotic symptoms as well as suicidal or homicidal ideation.

2018 St. Joseph's Health care Notes Continued. He stated to Dr. Bradford that he joined the army to use weapons and large guns such as assault rifles, using first person shooter games etc. It is important to note that all the DASA notes I could find indicated a score of zero. No delusions or hallucinations are noted. [redacted] He did agree to discuss any suicidal thoughts if they occurred but none are noted. Dr. Bradford noted that Mr. Minassian gave a police statement against legal advice. He stated that his degree required 7 years due to procrastination. He stated that he had read up on the Virginia Tech, Columbine shootings and Elliott Rodger's manifesto. He stated that part of his plan involved suicide by cop and he was worried about failing at work and disappointing his parents, which he asserted he always worried about. He stated that he had similar feelings in high school. He indicated that he wanted to kill and didn't want to fade away into obscurity. He mentioned revenge against all jocks and that socially acceptable females were always afraid of him. Dr. Bradford interviews Mr. Minassian and he indicated that his father worked in software and his mother worked in retail and that he was too embarrassed to admit his difficulties to his parents. Dr. Bradford noted that Mr. Minassian did not seem to recognize the enormity of killing 10 people and that his empathy was impaired. He reported being preoccupied

with the number he could kill. Dr. Bradford reviewed the statement to police. Dr. Chaimowitz is noted to have seen Mr. Minassian but I did not find a report by him. During a later interview with Dr. Bradford Mr. Minassian stated that he was not part of the incel movement and rebellion and appeared more focused on his kill count and previous bullying. To nursing staff he stated that he used to apologize to everyone for using the voice of Harry Potter. Dr. Bradford asked him about remorse, seemingly a number of times, and Mr. Minassian discusses women marrying up for money and states that he committed the index offences for attention. Although the time reference is unclear he described having fantasies of shooting up a school. He later stated that these fantasies started on 2011 (although he indicated to me that these thoughts started earlier). He stated that he never thought about how his family would feel re: the offences. Dr. Bradford notes that his father also did not seem to appreciate the enormity of Mr. Minassian's offences. Mr. Minassian indicated that he still wants a painless death. Dr. Bradford again notes that Mr. Minassian was not motivated by depression or psychosis. An MRI of Mr. Minassian's head (brain) was within normal limits.

Given how many references were made to the Elliott Rodger manifesto it was reviewed as well. The version I accessed was 141 pages and had no page numbers but was largely organized by age/year. This document is available to the reader through the internet. It is lengthy and repetitive. In terms of the document I will highlight what I thought would be the main similarities and differences between Elliott Rodger's self-description and Mr. Minassian's self- description. The similarities include feeling rejected, lonely, not viewing oneself as a cool kid, but describing having a range of friends, playing video games a lot, a sense of hopelessness, viewing females' logic as being flawed, feeling inferior and invisible as well as fantasies of killing. There are a number of significant differences however. Mr. Minassian appears to take more responsibility for his offending and does not blame it on humanity to as great as an extent, Elliott Rodger's account has more of a narcissistic flavour and more examples of narcissistic wounds, Elliott Rodger describes himself as a jealous person, has periods of resenting his step- mother, viewing her as not putting his needs ahead of hers and includes family members in his homicidal ideation, Elliott Rodger described much greater sexual preoccupation, appeared to have attended more social gatherings and did not describe preoccupations to the extent that Mr. Minassian did. Elliott Rodger discusses particular people he hated, mentions his view that his race and height holds him back socially, had a friend that he confided all in up to nearly his offences, was kicked out of his family home and was seeing a counsellor as an adult and viewed himself as seeing the world more clearly than others.

Undated CV of Rachel Loften, PhD level psychologist, school specialty. Licensed in Illinois and Connecticut (not Ontario), specialty in Autism and sexuality (One of the main interfaces between autism spectrum disorder and the law is in the domain of inappropriate courtship and sexuality

behaviour)

Undated CV Alexander Westphal, MD, PhD, has considerable forensic experience despite recent training in PCL and HCR. Has a range of publications. Expertise also in autistic spectrum and sexual behaviour (as noted above this is one of the main interfaces between autism and the law)

CVs are available from Drs Bradford, Chaimowitz and Mamak. These individuals are very experienced forensic clinicians registered in Ontario.

Clinical Findings

Behaviour during testing:

Mr. Minassian put forth more than sufficient effort to render valid ability test results and seemed keen to know his cognitive strengths and weaknesses.

Mr. Minassian tended to discuss his thought processes out loud during testing giving the assessor access to his perceptions and problem-solving approaches. He did not respond negatively to failure on testing and did not overestimate his performance when asked how many items on particular tests he thought he got correct. On tests involving perceiving or understanding social/interpersonal implications he talked his way toward an understanding of what he was faced with, eventually arriving at correct responses/understanding on items that most would automatically perceive very quickly. This was noted by a previous assessor in childhood and was an important aspect of his performance on the SSKAAT-R and the Proverbs subtest of the DKEFS. As noted in the behaviour during interview section above, he continued to exhibit stiff gaze, some limitations in prosody and a logic-based approach to understanding concepts.

Test results

Mr. Minassian completed the Shipley-2, an intelligence scale that allows the evaluator to compare accumulated knowledge to here and now based skills that are more impacted by major mental illness and other mental disorders. Mr. Minassian's score on the vocabulary subtest was in the upper segment of the high average range. This indicates that he did benefit from his academic exposure despite requiring special education and implicates that his overall vocational and academic trajectory is below what would be expected based on his vocabulary. His score on the abstraction component was in the very superior range, indicating strong cognitive flexibility and abstraction on this non-interpersonal measure. He was able to tell me the exact number of

items he might have gotten wrong on this test. This is a very high score and indicates considerable intellectual potential on tasks such as this one, requiring in-depth analysis of stimuli. Even high functioning ASD patients I have seen have not performed well on this test and have certainly not performed as well as Mr. Minassian. Stimulus-bound and off-point strange approaches to solving this test, often observed in more severe cases of ASD, were not observed. Mr. Minassian "struggled" on the block pattern portion of this test, scoring in the middle of the average range. This is in keeping with Dr. Mamak's findings indicating that he has a weakness in perceptual reasoning. Overall this measure indicates, in keeping with Dr. Mamak's assessment, that Mr. Minassian's cognitive functioning is not in the range that one would expect for individuals with more severe forms of ASD.

Mr. Minassian completed 4 subtests of the DKEFS. This scale assesses different components of executive functioning. The colour word subtest assesses the individual's ability to withhold sensory-based impulsive responding. Although he did not appear to be highly motivated to complete the simplest component of this test, he did not display any difficulties in withholding impulsive responding on this test, scoring in the average range. Mr. Minassian completed the Sorting subtest. ASD patients often struggle on this test as they struggle to break away from sensory-based responding and struggle to perceive the stimuli in ways other than their initial perception. Mr. Minassian scored in the average to high average range on this task, and did not get "stuck" in his own idiosyncratic thought processes on this test. Mr. Minassian completed the 20 questions subtest, which assesses planning and stimulus-bound thinking. Again, his performance was in the average to high average ranges. Finally, and possibly most importantly, Mr. Minassian completed the proverbs subtest, which assesses an individual's ability to understand non-literal concepts. He was asked to explain the underlying meaning of 8 proverbs of varying levels of difficulty. During free enquiry some of his explanations were more based on his own personal experiences than is typical but his eventual score was in the average range with his being able to understand and articulate non-literal meanings of the proverbs. On the multiple-choice phase, he was able to rapidly and perfectly recognize the correct interpretation of all the proverbs, again in the average range.

Mr. Minassian completed two subtests of the SSKAAT-R. This test was designed to assess sexual knowledge and judgment in the Intellectual Disability population. Clearly Mr. Minassian is not a member of this group, but this measure uses visual and scenario depictions of social/sexual judgment situations, allowing a window into thought processes in these domains. Again Mr. Minassian was very verbal as to his thought processes as he completed this test. He completed the intimacy and healthy boundaries subtests. Completing this test required much longer than typical due to Mr. Minassian's engaging in-depth analysis and discussions of many of the stimuli, in terms of cultural factors, people's assumptions and what each party might be

thinking. Although he was able to score almost perfectly, he needed to observe the pictures for long periods and engage in a range of internal discussions before perceiving the inappropriate aspects of scenarios depicted, that would be easily perceived by most in seconds. He was clearly aware of all the basic issues of consent, inappropriateness of incest, sexual assault, sex with minors etc, even though he struggled to perceive these concepts in visual form.

Given the nature of the offences Mr. Minassian completed the ADS, a self-report measure of anger problematic experience and expression. He had completed this scale with Dr. Mamak in 2018. In 2018 he generated elevations in resentment and brooding, indicating a tendency not to express anger directly at the source and to ruminate over past failures and perceived injustices. The present profile is largely in keeping with this profile, but only contains an elevation on the resentment scale, with his no longer claiming to brood on and not express his anger directly.

Although there was no direct reason to suspect that Mr. Minassian was malingering his difficulties, the SIMS was administered. He generated a very low score which is not in keeping with malingering or exaggerating his difficulties.

As noted above Mr. Minassian's PAI data and interpretive summary was provided from his 2018 assessment and reviewed above. As noted above some items he generated during the present assessment were discussed with Mr. Minassian. In addition, an item by item comparison was made due to the differences in the interpretive summary from Dr. Mamak and my assessment. 71 of the 344 item responses were different by 2 categories or more. The 4 options/categories are false, slightly true, mainly true or very true. Many of the changes appeared easily understandable in terms of the increased time since the index offences, reduction in distress and suicidal ideation as well as adapting to being detained. However, a number of the significantly changed items seem to relate to areas that might be considered more core to Mr. Minassian and his diagnoses, his offences and his continued claim that his actions were in keeping with his continuing goals. Such items included how he expresses anger, fear of saying something wrong, liking being around his family, wanting certain people to know how much they have hurt him, liking to meet new people, believing people have let him down, whether he spends much of his time alone, people not understanding how much he suffers, feeling best when he is in a leader position, enjoying the company of other people etc. This situation raises the possibility that Mr. Minassian's history of acting in ways to provide an impression could be continuing and that the multiple assessment process may be steering his responses to some degree. By this I am not implying that what he is saying cannot be believed but I believe that all of the assessors, including myself, need to be cognizant of his history of impression management and acting.

The present profile does not contain a significant elevation in suicidal ideation, which is a

marked change. Similarly, there are no elevations in social detachment and thought disorder that were endorsed in 2018. In short, the profile contains fewer indicators of difficulties in judgement and personality. However, the profile does contain similar elevations in anxiety-related symptoms and overall a recognition and endorsement of struggles that ASD patients are quite often not able to report. In 2018, his malingering index was not elevated however during the present evaluation it was. His score of 3 on this scale appeared to be artificially elevated due to contrasts that are understandable given his symptom set and, in my opinion, do not suggest malingering. The interpretive report cautions that Mr. Minassian is endorsing atypical symptom combinations and that this may reflect an attempt to present himself in a negative light, but again this is based on the above set of contrasts that are in keeping with his history and thought processes. The interpretive program indicates that Mr. Minassian is likely an individual who is unhappy, distressed, aware that he needs help, has low self-esteem and views himself as ineffectual and powerless. He likely has difficulty concentrating and making decisions. He may ruminate over situations where he has no control and is likely plagued by thoughts of worthlessness. Phobic type fears are possible and he is denying difficulties with antisocial behaviour, unusual or psychotic experiences, problems with empathy or elevated mood. His self-concept is likely poorly established but involves harsh self criticism. He is likely to be viewed as self-conscious, modest and unassertive. He is describing his temper as being within normal limits on this scale.

Summary of clinical findings

Mr. Minassian clearly has a longstanding diagnosis of ASD with related preoccupations, struggles with social skills and awareness, obsessive characteristics and gravitation toward math and logic. He is very clearly on the high functioning end of this diagnosis as many have limited or no language, severely impaired social presentation and require a high level of supervision and oversight. His history and testing indicate that he was able to maintain friendships with like-minded males, complete high school and a college program, and score at or above average on virtually all intellectual measures he faced. This indicates that although his presentation clearly points to an ASD symptom set, this has not limited his ability to master most tasks of adult living, save and except feeling socially accepted and obtaining an intimate partner. Dr. Mamak and my testing did uncover some weaknesses in recognizing social/emotional non-verbal cues however overall, he exhibited many cognitive strengths. Although I would agree that at times he exhibited concrete thinking to a degree, I cannot point to, in my assessment, any particular social concept or expectation that he could not understand on an intellectual level. This appears similar to other assessors who do not describe any specific social concept that Mr. Minassian does not appear able to understand, other than the negative emotional impact his crimes had on the victims

and their families.

Mr. Minassian also endorsed historical school shooting fantasies and has a number of attributes associated with school shooters in the literature. These include: described by peers as loner, history of being bullied, engaging in a lot of fantasy, being preoccupied with weapons, attending army training, feeling like a social outcast etc. Under the Meloy 2001 classification system he would be a "classroom avenger". This subgroup is more likely to be engrossed in violent fantasies, ponder the event prior to the shooting and more likely view bullying as a major factor in their motives. This subgroup is more likely to suffer from some degree of depression and struggle in bonding with others. Their self-image likely vacillates between self-reproach and self-aggrandizing. Lengthy criminal histories are rare in this group but nihilistic world views are common. Classroom avengers are the most likely group to copycat a widely publicised school shooting, according to some authors due to their fantasy orientation making them more likely to "escape" into fantasy involving the famous event fuelling the urge to act on their own resentment. To me it is important to note that these offenders have been described as describing their offences in a detached and "chilling" manner. As such there is a risk that Mr. Minassian's lack of empathy for the victims of his offences flows not simply from his ASD but quite possibly from factors associated with a school shooting constellation as well.

Mr. Minassian appears to have struggled with ASD symptoms, feeling lonely and not socially fulfilled, feeling overall ineffectual relative to his cognitive potential and potentially disappointing himself and his parents if his life trajectory continued. In high school, he seems to have viewed his fear of girls and girls seeming to not be interested in him as unfair in addition to viewing what he perceived as ostracism in general as unfair. This led to school shooting vengeance fantasies, which he allegedly did not engage in simply because he could not access a weapon, but one could argue that he was simply not sufficiently motivated to get a weapon of some sort and engage in the act. Unlike many school shooters, he did not seek an accomplice, apparently sharing his views and try to find like-minded peers, possibly knowing that his friends would not be of like mind. He did later find like-minded people on the internet which appeared to fuel his homicidal thought process and provide a sense of potential personal accomplishment for mass murder, which he then fantasized about leading up to the index offences.

While I would agree that Mr. Minassian does not appear to have full emotionally based empathy for his victims, before during or after the offences, this can occur due to multiple factors as noted above. Given his statements, cognitive functioning results and history it is clear that he knew and knows his actions were wrong and given his cognitive style he very clearly also understood his actions were wrong. It is not clear to me what interpersonal concepts he is truly incapable of understanding given his cognitive abilities and drive to understand and analyze such issues. As

such it is very difficult to support a section 16 defence in this case as appreciating wrongfulness is far too high a standard for wrongfulness given the multiple possible factors that can interfere with this such as rage, personality characteristics, cognitive style etc.

I can certainly appreciate the pull toward hoping for some form of leniency for this likeably earnest man. The angry school shooter/angry mass murderer, in all fairness, does not capture all that contributed to this crime in my opinion. Unlike Elliott Rodger and other non-psychotic murderers I have assessed, Mr. Minassian does not exhibit a marked history of narcissistic wounds, when discussing past perceived mistreatment the anger is not easily brought to the surface and there is not a strong sense of entitlement. In simplest terms although he has some impetus on the drive side of the mass murder offence pattern, his level of drive did not appear in keeping with his actions. Fuelling by incel reading and his ASD symptoms likely eroded the control side of the equation leading to this tragedy.

I hope this report is of some assistance. If there are any questions please do not hesitate to call me. This report is intended to be read in concert with Dr. Woodside's omnibus report.

Percy Wright, Ph.D., C.Psych.
Psychologist